

Agassiz

THE  
DIVERSITY OF ORIGIN  
OF THE  
HUMAN RACES.

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In the following remarks the writer does not intend to enter into controversy with those who differ from him upon this question. His object is, simply to make such statements as he believes will advance our knowledge of the points most essential to be considered in the investigation of the origin of all those races of men upon whose establishment in the countries they now occupy we have neither tradition nor direct information of any kind. There is, however, one thing against which we must guard ourselves. We refer to the charge so often brought against us, and objected to our efforts upon this subject, that we have undertaken to undermine our sacred books, to diminish their value, and to derogate from their holy character in the opinion of men.\* We most positively declare that we shall take no notice, nor answer, either in a direct or indirect way, any such insinuations against us. For if they are sincere on the part of those who have brought them forward, they display such an ignorance of our views, as to enable us at once to dispense with the trouble of answering accusations having no reference to our real opinions, and we may well say, and be proud to have a claim to say, that we do not consider him as a worthy antagonist who does not know what are our views upon scientific subjects, when these views upon the very question now

\* The application to me of insulting epithets, like that of "infidel," by certain divines who have argued the question in opposition to my views, will neither strengthen their position, nor tarnish my character. — L. A.

under discussion were already dawning in the writer's work on Fossil Fishes, published nearly ten years ago, and have been more fully developed in several other works and papers which he has published since that time. And, on the other hand, if these accusations are not sincere, they will be given up by those who have made them as soon as it suits their convenience to take a different course.

Naturalists have a right to consider the questions growing out of men's physical relations as merely scientific questions, and to investigate them without reference to either politics or religion.

There are two distinct questions involved in the subject which we have under discussion, — the Unity of Mankind, and the Diversity of Origin of the Human Races. These are two distinct questions, having almost no connection with each other, but they are constantly confounded as if they were but one.

We recognize the fact of the Unity of Mankind. It excites a feeling that raises men to the most elevated sense of their connection with each other. It is but the reflection of that Divine nature which pervades their whole being. It is because men feel thus related to each other, that they acknowledge those obligations of kindness and moral responsibility which rest upon them in their mutual relations. And it is because they have this innate feeling, that they are capable of joining in regular societies with all their social and domestic affinities. This feeling unites men from the most diversified regions. Do we cease to recognize this unity of mankind because we are not of the same family? — because we originate in various countries, and are born in America, England, Germany, France, Switzerland? Where the relationship of blood has ceased, do we cease to acknowledge that general bond which unites all men of every nation? By no means. This is a bond which every man feels more and more, the farther he advances in his intellectual and moral culture, and which in this development is continually placed upon higher and higher ground, — so much so, that the physical relation arising from a common descent is finally entirely lost sight of in the consciousness of the higher moral obligations. It is this consciousness which constitutes the true unity of mankind.

But we know so little respecting the origin of that first human pair to which the white race is distinctly referred, that, even if it were possible to show that all men originated from that one pair, the naturalist would still be required to exert himself to throw more light upon the process by which they were created, in the same manner as geologists have done respecting the formations and changes in the physical condition of our globe. We know so little respecting the first appearance of organized beings in general, that, even if there were no questions with regard to the origin of men, we might still inquire into the method of the origin of that first human pair, who have been considered as the acknowledged source whence all mankind have sprung, though it may be that they were not the only source.

Such an investigation into the ways of nature, into the ways of the Creator, and into the circumstances under which organized beings were created, is a question wholly disconnected with religion, belonging entirely to the department of natural history. But, at the same time, we deny that, in the view which we take of these questions, there is any thing contradicting the records in Genesis. Whatever is said there can be best explained by referring it to the historical races.\* We have no statements relating to the origin of the inhabitants now found in those parts of the world which were unknown to the ancients.

Do we find in any part of the Scriptures any reference to the inhabitants of the arctic zone, of Japan, of China, of New Holland, or of America? Now, as philosophers, we ask, Whence did these nations come? And if we should find as an answer, that they were not related to Adam and Eve, and that they have an independent origin, and if this should be substantiated by physical evidence, would there be any thing to conflict with the statements in Genesis? We have no narrative of the manner in which these parts of the world were peopled.

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\* In speaking of the historical and the non-historical races, we do not mean to say that the nations of the white race only have historical records, and that these records alone are highly valuable, for we know that the history of the Chinese extends far back, and how full their records are. We only intend, in making this distinction, to refer to the history in Genesis, in which the branches of the white race only are alluded to, and nowhere the colored races as such.

We say, therefore, that, as far as the investigation will cover that ground, it has nothing to do with Genesis. We meet all objections at once, we dare to look them in the face; for there is no impropriety in considering all the possible meanings of the Scriptures, and nobody can object to such a course except those whose religion consists in a blind adoration of their own construction of the Bible.

It has been charged upon the views here advanced, that they tend to the support of slavery; as if the question in its most extensive bearing did not involve the origin of the Chinese, of the Malays, and of the Indians, as well as that of the negro race. If the question of slavery had ever been connected with the colored races of Asia and America, we would acknowledge that these views have some bearing upon that subject. But is it really so? Is that a fair objection to a philosophical investigation? Here we have to do only with the question of the origin of men; let the politicians, let those who feel themselves called upon to regulate human society, see what they can do with the results. It is for us to examine into the characters of different races, to ascertain their physical peculiarities, their natural developments. And we do nothing more than has already been attempted long ago, when authors have designed to characterize nations. Because the French differ in many respects from the English, the Greeks, the Italians, etc., and because we see in these nations different turns of mind, does it follow that the particular degree of civilization attained by one is also the best that others could enjoy, and the best that could be introduced into their social condition?

We disclaim, however, all connection with any question involving political matters. It is simply with reference to the possibility of appreciating the differences existing between different men, and of eventually determining whether they have originated all over the world, and under what circumstances, that we have here tried to trace some facts respecting the human races, and the animal kingdom, in all their different classes.

We began by stating that the subject of unity and plurality of races involves two distinct questions, the question of the essential unity of mankind, and the ques-

tion of the origin of men upon our globe. There is another view involved in this second question, which we would not dismiss without a few remarks.

Are men, even if the diversity of their origin is established, to be considered as all belonging to one species, or are we to conclude that there are several different species among them? The writer has been in this respect strangely misrepresented. Because he has at one time said that mankind constitutes one species, and at another time has said that men did not originate from one common stock, he has been represented as contradicting himself, as stating at one time one thing, and at another time another. He would therefore insist upon this distinction, that the unity of species does not involve a unity of origin, and that a diversity of origin does not involve a plurality of species. Moreover, what we should now consider as the characteristic of species is something very different from what has formerly been so considered. As soon as it was ascertained that animals differ so widely, it was found that what constitutes a species in certain types is something very different from what constitutes a species in other types, and that facts which prove an identity of species in some animals do not prove an identity or plurality in another group.

It is well known that the horse and ass produce mules, though they constitute distinct species; again, it may be shown that certain polyps produce jelly-fishes, though they never pair with each other, and that they nevertheless belong to the same species; but such facts would not constitute an evidence of unity or diversity in other groups of the animal kingdom. It would lead us too far into technical details to quote many more similar examples, which would show equally well the fallacy of conclusions derived from different quarters; but, on the other hand, we must insist upon the inestimable value of the inductions derived from facts of the same order, and naturalists will evince their competency to discuss these questions by keeping within their legitimate ground. We must, however, give some details with reference to the limitation of the characteristics of species, as it has a direct bearing upon the investigation of the origin of organized beings in general.

There are animals in which the dualism that so uni-

versally pervades the higher classes in the opposition between the sexes is not introduced, and in which all the individuals have, morphologically and functionally, the same identical structure. Here the characteristics of species must be very different from what they are among those animals in which we recognize males and females.

There are other groups in which this peculiar combination of sexes presents very different proportions. We have among the higher animals about an equal number of individuals belonging to the two sexes. But in some of the classes, for instance, among insects, we have species in which the normal condition consists in a combination of one female, generally called the queen, with several males, and large numbers of individuals destitute of sex. Now this combination is there the normal combination, and the idea of species in such types must be derived from the knowledge that this combination is a normal one, and that therefore the proportion of individuals is to be considered as one of the characteristics of the species in some classes; but at the same time we must remember that these combinations are very different in other classes.

There are many trees and plants in which a single stalk represents the whole species; there are those in which we never see detached and distinct individuals, but in which a number of individuals are constantly combined in one community, leading a common life, such as the corals. There the idea of species is very different from that which we form when considering the higher animals in general.

But it is not only in this respect that we frequently find a difference in the combinations of individuals in different species. We find also peculiar adaptations in the mode of association of species with each other. There are species which everywhere occur in shoals, in numerous herds. A life in large communities is the characteristic that distinguishes them from others.

Others live in solitude, and in the case of some of them even the males meet with the females only at particular seasons of the year. Such bachelors among animals may be found associating constantly with herds of other animals; or herds of different species may meet regularly and live a life in common, as the starlings and

cattle. There are others in which all the individuals that have originated in one season remain in a shoal together for the first year, and afterwards separate; others continue to live in large communities. For these, the principle of individuals living in communities is one of the characteristics of the species. We never consider herring as living otherwise than in shoals. We never think of bees as living otherwise than in swarms, or of pines otherwise than in forests. Such an association of individuals is characteristic both in animals and plants; there are social plants as well as social animals. The regular number of individuals which are brought together in ordinary circumstances is one of the peculiar natural characteristics of such species. It will at once be seen what is the bearing of these facts; they have reference to the question of the proportion of individuals originating in all the different species,—whether they were created in pairs, or whether they were created in larger numbers; upon one spot, or over a wider area.

But for all those animals which have a wider range it is a further question whether their distribution, as it is at present, can be referred to migrations or not; whether the field which they cover is a field which they might cover by spreading from a common centre.

One circumstance of importance in this investigation is the influence which external circumstances have upon the natural character of organized beings. The question of the plurality or unity of the human races involves also the question of the limits of those influences, — of physical causes which may act upon organized beings after their creation.

We have here to inquire what are the limits within which we know that organized beings have been modified by physical circumstances, after they had been once placed upon the surface of our globe.

As we have no tradition upon these questions, we can only argue from probabilities, from what we see at present, from the nature of those beings now living, and the persistency of their characters as they are observed in our days, and refer to the few instances in which a direct comparison of organized beings at different periods has been possible. We allude to those animals preserved from very ancient times. The monuments of Egypt

have fortunately yielded skeletons of animals that lived several thousand years ago; from the same source seeds of plants have been obtained, that have been made to germinate and grow; and from the most minute and careful comparisons of these animals and plants of ancient days with those of the same species now living in the same countries, it has been found that there is no difference between them,—that they agree precisely in all particulars as perfectly as the different individuals of the species now living agree together. So that we have in this fact, which has been fully investigated by Cuvier in his researches upon fossils, full evidence that time does not alter organized beings. A further consideration of this subject would include details too extensive for the present occasion. We return, therefore, to the human races.

Having made the distinction between the questions of the unity of mankind and of the origin of men,—of the different races of men,—it is now a matter of great importance to show that these two questions are really distinct questions, entirely independent of each other, and also to show what are the peculiarities of man constituting, physically, intellectually, and morally, that unity which is recognized among all men, even though their unity of origin be denied.

The more general proposition can be very well sustained by the evidence derived from a special case, where, men of the same nation—individuals whose studies, whose calling in life, have developed in them the same faculties, the same feelings—being brought closely together, relations spring up between them so intimate, as by far to outweigh the natural bonds which a common parentage may establish between men. Such individuals do not feel themselves to be near each other, do not sympathize in their aspirations, do not join in the same purposes, because they are brothers, because they belong to the same family, because they are of the same nation, but because they feel that they are men, and that the natural dispositions wherewith they are endowed as men are developed in them in a similar manner, and with reference to the same great human interests. Is there any one who would consider the ties between two such individuals on that intellectual and moral

ground as lessened because they may not be physically related at all? or who would consider the differences in their physical features as an objection to their being more intimately connected than other men who in features resemble them more, or are related to them more closely, perhaps, by the nearest ties of blood? We can therefore take it as a matter of fact, that, as we find men actually living together in the world, it is not the physical relation which establishes the closest connection between them, but that higher relation arising from the intellectual constitution of man. How this higher character of man is preserved in a succession of men, generation after generation, is one of the mysteries which physiology has not yet unfolded; but we have in animals instances enough showing that living beings, for which a community of origin has never been claimed, present the same close relation in their constitution and natural disposition as we observe between the different races of men; so that there is no necessity for assuming that the foundation for this intercourse between men who are not related by the ties of kindred is to be looked for in that primitive unity which is supposed to arise from a common descent. We would mention some examples to show how extensively this is the case among lower creatures.

Let us consider, for instance, the beasts of prey. They all agree in the peculiar form of their teeth and claws, which are adapted to seize upon their prey; their alimentary canal is so constructed as to fit it best for digesting animal food; their dispositions are savage, unsocial; and so universal are these characteristics, both in their physical constitution and in their natural disposition, as clearly to show that they constitute a natural unity in the creation, entirely disconnected both in structure and natural dispositions with any other division of the animal kingdom, such as the Monkeys, or the Ruminants, or the Rodents. But because they agree so closely in all these prominent features, has any one ever thought that the wolf, tiger, and bear originated from a common stock, and that their resemblance was owing to this common origin? Have we not here, on the contrary, the plainest evidence, that, with the most distinct origin, without even the possibility of a mixture among such races, they exhibit a closer resemblance, and dispositions more alike, than

the different races of men? We may go farther to show that a common character by no means proves common descent or parentage in the least degree, by comparing the different species of that so large genus, the cats, in which the wild-cat, the panther, the leopard, tiger, lion, and all the numerous species of this group, having such similar habits, such similar natural dispositions, with the same structure, were yet constituted as so many distinct species, unconnected in their genealogy.

The same evidence might be drawn from thousands of natural groups, both in the animal and vegetable kingdoms. We need only compare the different species of deer, moose, and elk in the different parts of the world, or the buffalo with the wild bulls of the Old World, to know that this law of unity among larger and smaller groups, where there is the most complete independence of origin, prevails throughout nature. Who does not recognize *primâ facie* that the canoe-birch, white-birch, sweet-birch, and yellow-birch are trees of the same stamp, though they do not pass one into the other, do not mingle, producing, nevertheless, similar fruit? Is this not true, also, of all the oaks, of all the pines, and is the unity stamped upon them all less obvious, less important, less conspicuous, because none of these plants, none of the animals mentioned above, can be referred to a common stock? These examples will be sufficient to show that the closest unity, the most intimate unity, may exist without a common origin, without a common descent, without that relationship which is often denoted by the expression "ties of blood." And, on the other hand, that these ties of blood may exist without necessarily calling forth the higher connections which may be found between individuals of the same type, is, alas! too plainly shown by the history of mankind. The immediate conclusion from these facts, however, is the distinction we have made above, that to acknowledge a unity in mankind, to show that such a unity exists, is not to admit that men have a common origin, nor to grant that such a conclusion may be justly derived from such premises. We maintain, therefore, that the unity of mankind does not imply a community of origin for men; we believe, on the contrary, that a higher view of this unity of man-

kind can be taken than that which is derived from a mere sensual connection, — that we need not search for the highest bond of humanity in a mere animal function, whereby we are most closely related to the brutes.

In the first place, all races of men exhibit strongly those physical features which characterize man when compared with animals, even with those highest monkey tribes which in physical development come nearest to the human frame. Man is constructed to stand upright, upon two feet, with two free hands subservient to his intellectual powers, with his head erect upon an upright vertebral column, capable of moving in all directions. This erect position, this particular connection between head and trunk, the development of the arm and hand, adapted to purposes so different from those of the foot, constitute in the physical organization of man the most prominent peculiarities, which are as strongly marked in the inhabitant of Van Diemen's Land or King George's Inlet as in the noblest individuals of the white race; — features which do not occur in monkeys, for they have four hands, and not two feet and two hands; and they are incapable of assuming that upright standing position which frees the arm and makes it the willing organ of the higher impulses emanating from the head. Monkeys have hands, it is true, but they have four hands, and the upper hands are still in the service of the body, — they are not yet emancipated from that bondage to the flesh, not yet set free for the higher service of the spirit.

The comparisons made between monkeys and men by comparative anatomists, when tracing the gradations in nature, have been greatly misunderstood by those who have concluded that, because there were no other types between the highest monkeys and men, these highest monkeys were something intermediate between men and beasts; or that some race particularly disagreeable to those writers was something intermediate between monkeys and human beings. These links between mankind and the animal creation are only the great steps indicating the gradation established by the Creator among living beings, and they no more indicate a relation between men and monkeys, than between monkeys and beasts of prey, or between these and the ox, or between the ox and the whale. Such misrepre-

sentations of the comparisons made by naturalists have arisen from a misunderstanding of their propositions, or from the mistakes rendered possible by the words used, which, of course, should have been taken in a modified sense when applied to a new thought, but which, instead of this, have been translated back into their common meaning, by men utterly ignorant of the object and aim of such comparisons.

Having once vindicated for all races of men such a community of physical constitution, such a unity of type, such an essential difference from the character of even the highest animals, we hardly need allude further to those most prominent, more elevating, more dignifying distinctions which belong to man, as an intellectual and moral being; and we would gladly be silent upon this side of the question, did we not feel that it would be giving up the better part of our nature not to claim that peculiar characteristic of mankind, those intellectual and moral qualities which are so eminently developed in civilized society, but which equally exist in the natural dispositions of all human races, constituting the higher unity among men, making them all equal before God, because all of them have been created in his image, inasmuch as they have a spark of that divine light which elevates man above the present, and enables him to look forward in the future towards eternity, to remember the past, to record his destinies, and to be taught how to improve himself, and to be led in these improvements by motives of a higher, of a purely moral character.

Such is the foundation of a unity between men truly worthy of their nature, such is the foundation of those sympathies which will enable them to bestow upon each other, in all parts of the world, the name of brethren, as they are brethren in God, brethren in humanity, though their origin, to say the least, is lost in the darkness of the beginning of the world.

If space permitted, we would also consider here the laws which regulate the geographical distribution of organized beings, with reference to the question of unity of the human races. But we may in this respect refer to a former article, and merely mention now that this distribution is regulated according to a plan; and that there is an intention in the manner in which animals and

plants are distributed all over the globe. We would only quote a few examples to show how plainly in the distribution of the human races, and in almost all natural groups of animals and plants, the same laws obtain. Along the Arctics we have animals which are identical in Asia, Europe, and North America. There is no specific difference between the Mammalia, birds, fishes, and other lower animals, occurring around the northern pole for some distance. We may state that their limits are circumscribed beyond the limits of the natural growth of trees.

Farther south there begins to be a marked difference, and this increases as we proceed towards the tropics. But this difference does not increase in such a manner as to introduce a uniformity between America and Europe, or between Europe and Asia, but it is of such a nature that the animals and plants represent each other in these different continents. Where we have a fox in Europe there is another kind of fox in North America, and another in Asia and Turan; so also the wolves of Europe, of Southern Siberia, and of the prairies of America, are different. Within these limits we have representative species, but linked together by a degree of resemblance so great as easily to cause mistakes by those who are not accustomed to distinguish organized beings, and for a long time the wolves and foxes and bears, and other large animals of America, which have such representative species in other parts of the world, were taken by the first white inhabitants from Europe as identical with corresponding species of Europe; and so with Asia, etc. But the differences are such as really to show that these types merely correspond to each other, and are not identical.

Farther south we find the differences increase, and the corresponding types agree only in a more general manner. They are no longer representative species in the same genus, but representative genera in the same family; so that in the same families we see only distant relations between those types which occur in the tropics, even where the representative species of the temperate zone are closely related.

But what is most important is, that this increased difference does not correspond merely to what we may call

climate, or to those physical differences which influence animals and plants. The differences are such as may appear to careful observers almost unconnected with climate, inasmuch as in the same climate, in the tropical regions, for instance, we have animals and plants in New Holland entirely different from those that occur in Africa and South America. This is the more obvious, as the climatic conditions are far more similar in the southern hemisphere than in the northern, where, nevertheless, representative species occur in the different parts of the world. In this geographical distribution there is, therefore, evidence of a plan carried out almost independently of the climate. There is evidence of a design ruling the climatic conditions themselves; for animals and plants are not distributed at random, or simply according to physical circumstances, but their arrangement reveals a superior order, established from higher and considerate views, by an intelligent Creator.

Now, if we follow in the same manner the races of men upon the surface of our globe, we find a similar definite location. We will not for the present consider any of those tribes that are known to have migrated from their primitive seats, nor any of those we may fairly call historical nations; but only those races respecting which we have no records, and which we are left to study simply from their physical conditions, as we have no direct information respecting their introduction into the parts of the world they now occupy.

The object of the writer in not beginning this investigation with the historical races is to avoid the difficulty of conflicting evidence respecting their migrations. The light thrown by tradition and revelation upon the first settlement of several stems of the white race, moreover, does not completely cover the question of their origin; for though there are records respecting the distribution of several branches of the family of Noah, we have nowhere any data respecting the origin of the primitive inhabitants of the countries to which they migrated. In order to avoid, therefore, the perplexity of mixing historical evidence with data derived from the study of the human races themselves, it is advisable, for the present, to confine ourselves more especially to the consideration of the non-historical races, and to consider chiefly the natu-

ral connections observed between these races and the countries they inhabit, in order to ascertain whether there is any indication in their peculiarities showing that they may be referred to the influence of climate, or diversity of food, or difference in habit and mode of life. For if it can be shown that the peculiarities of these races in their present distribution, as far as historical documents respecting them may go, have no reference to climate or physical influences, and do not fall within the range of the changes produced by such influences, as far as they can be ascertained, this circumstance would afford a further argument in support of the view that the non-historical races are really not connected with the historical races, and that this want of connection is not owing to a want of information, but to a real, natural, primitive disconnection.

Now these races, with all their diversity, may be traced through parts of the world which, in a physical point of view, are most similar, and similar branches occur over tracts of land the physical constitution of which differs to the utmost; a fact constituting at once an insuperable obstacle to our ascribing these differences to changes introduced during or after the migrations of a primitively homogeneous stock, and produced by climatic influences. A more minute investigation of these facts will more fully sustain this view.

The white race in its different branches has spread over the broadest area. It has covered, not only Europe and the northern part of Africa, including the valley of the Nile and all the region north of the Atlas, but also Arabia, Persia, and a part of India. It has encroached upon Tartary, and has extended as far as the arctic circle in Europe. At a later period it has established itself beyond the oceans, in the New World, at the Cape of Good Hope, in the East Indies, in the Sunda Islands, in New Holland, in the islands of the Pacific Ocean, and upon the southern and eastern borders of the continent of Asia. But within this range the different nations which have succeeded each other in the course of time, even where they have assumed new peculiarities in consequence of their mixture in these new homes, have never differed more than the various families of the other races differ within their respective limits. The Arabs and Per-

sians, the Berbers and Jews, the Germans and Greeks, the Italians and French, the Spaniards and Portuguese, the Swedes and Normans, the Dutch and Danes, the Russians and Turks, the Anglo-Saxons and Irish, and their descendants in the Transatlantic colonies, have presented at all times the same physical characteristics, and have resembled each other within the same limits within which we find the different tribes of negroes to resemble each other. The differences between the Senegal negro and the negro of Mozambique, or between the negro of Congo and the negro of Caffraria, are as great, and perhaps even greater, than the differences existing between the different nations of the white race.

But taking them together as types, as races, we find that the differences characterizing them are of a very different order from the differences existing between the several nations within the limits of each race. The monuments of Egypt teach us that five thousand years ago the negroes were as different from the white race as they are now,\* and that, therefore, neither time nor climate nor change of habitation has produced the differences we observe between the races, and that to assume them to be of the same order, and to assert their common origin, is to assume and to assert what has no historical or physiological or physical foundation.

Let us, however, now return more specially to the geographical distribution of the human races, and begin with Asia. There, within the arctic district, we have the race of Samoyedes, who are small, short men, with a round, broad face, and thick lips, but whose eyes, or rather the openings of their orbits, are narrow, though neither oblique nor very elongated, as is the case among the Chinese. A very similar type, that of the Laplanders, occurs in Northern Europe. The Esquimaux on this continent present the same general features. But if we go farther south, as far as Japan, for instance, we have another race in which the features already present marked

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\* One almost blushes to state that the fathers of the Church in Northern Africa have even recently been quoted as evidence of the high intellectual and moral development of which the negro race is supposed to be capable, and that the monuments of Egypt have also been referred to with the same view. But, we ask, have men who do not know that Egypt and Northern Africa have never been inhabited by negro tribes, but always by nations of the Caucasian race, any right to express an opinion on this question?

differences, a race almost intermediate between the Chinese and the inhabitants of Kamtschatka. The Chinese themselves have those very prominent cheeks, that pale-yellowish color, and those very oblique, narrow fissures of the eyes, which are so characteristic of that race of men generally known under the name of the Mongolian type. But it is very important to take into consideration, that northwards, between the Mongolian and the arctic nations, we have intermediate types, in South-eastern Siberia. Again, if we pass from China into Indo-China and the Sunda Islands, or from the high plateaus of Asia into the Malayan peninsula, we meet another race, the Malays, who have some resemblance to the Chinese in their color, but differ from them in many respects, especially in the regularity of their face, and what we may call their beautiful Caucasian features. Towards the primitive seat of the white race, the Mongolians assume another appearance; they resemble somewhat the Caucasian type. But towards Indo-China we have also a transition from the Malayan type into the Caucasian, as we have from the Mongolian type into the Caucasian farther North.

All over Africa we have but one type, or rather we generally consider the Africans as one, because they are chiefly black. But if we take the trouble to compare their different tribes, we shall observe that there are as great differences between them as between the inhabitants of Asia. The negro of Senegal differs as much from the negro of Mozambique as he differs from the negro of Congo or of Guinea. The writer has of late devoted special attention to this subject, and has examined closely many native Africans belonging to different tribes, and has learned readily to distinguish their nations, without being told whence they came; and even when they attempted to deceive him, he could determine their origin from their physical features.

Among the negroes there are the same feelings of inferiority and superiority that exist among other nations. There are some tribes who consider themselves, and are generally regarded, as superior to others; and individuals who, knowing that their tribe is held in low estimation by others, take good care to assume a higher standing when asked about their origin. But in such cases, where

deception would defeat the object of the investigation, it is not very difficult to ascertain the truth. After having learned from them the names for a dog, a fish, etc., in their native language, which you may know from sources to be relied upon, if you ask them to what tribe they belong, you can easily ascertain whether their answer respecting their origin is true. Now these differences are so great as to indicate among negroes in various parts of Africa the same diversity that exists among the inhabitants of Asia. And if we compare the inhabitants of the southern extremity of Africa with negroes, we find still greater and more prominent differences in the race of the Hottentots, whose peculiarities are sufficiently well known to require no particular illustration. We will, therefore, abstain from any further details, in order not to extend these remarks beyond the limits of general statements, and would only add one fact respecting the American Indians; as this race presents a most remarkable feature in the point of view under consideration. It has been satisfactorily established that over the whole continent of America south of the arctic zone (which is inhabited by Esquimaux), all the numerous tribes of Indians have the same physical character; that they belong to the same race, from north to south, and that the primitive inhabitants of central tropical America do not physically differ from the primitive inhabitants of the more northern or southern regions. In this case we have the greatest uniformity in the character of the tribes of an entire continent, under the most different climatic influences. But in their physical peculiarities these tribes differ as well from the Africans as from the Asiatic tribes\* and the inhabitants of New Holland.

Now, if men originated from a common centre, and spread over the world from that centre, their present differences must be owing to influences arising out of peculiarities of climate and mode of life. And these influences must have acted upon them during or after their migration, and, if such changes have really taken place, must correspond to each other in different parts of the world, in proportion as the physical conditions are more or less similar.

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\* In this general remark, the isolated cases of Mongolians stranded on the western shores of America, as far as they are well authenticated, are of course excepted.

Compare now the inhabitants of China with those of the corresponding parts of Africa and America; compare especially with each other the inhabitants of the southern extremities of Africa, America, and New Holland, regions which are, physically speaking, under most circumstances alike, and we shall find the greatest differences between them. This fact will at once appear as the strongest objection to the idea that the differences between these races arose from changes that took place after they were introduced into the regions they inhabit; especially when it is found that, among all races, the Fuegians, Hottentots, and inhabitants of Van Diemen's Land are the tribes which differ most from each other. We find similar constant differences within corresponding parts of the same continents in the torrid zone. In Africa we have the negro race, with its peculiar features, in Polynesia the Papuan race, and in America the common Indian, though the climate in these three parts of the world does not differ essentially. Again, in the temperate zone, we have in the Old World Mongolians and Caucasians, and Indians in America,—races which do not resemble each other, but yet live under the most similar circumstances.

We can see but one conclusion to be drawn from these facts, that these races cannot have assumed their peculiar features after they had migrated into these countries from a supposed common centre. We must, therefore, seek another explanation. We would, however, first remind the reader of the fact, that these are not historical races, that there are not even traditions respecting their origin to guide us in the investigation, that some of the most different races are placed in parts of the world most similar in physical circumstances, and that we are, therefore, left entirely to ourselves to unravel the mystery of their origin by the light induction may afford us. Under such circumstances, we would ask if we are not entitled to conclude that these races must have originated where they occur, as well as the animals and plants inhabiting the same countries, and have originated there in the same numerical proportions, and over the same area, in which they now occur; for these conditions are the conditions necessary to their maintenance, and what among organized beings is essential to their temporal existence

must be at least one of the conditions under which they were created.

We maintain, that, like all other organized beings, mankind cannot have originated in single individuals, but must have been created in that numeric harmony which is characteristic of each species; men must have originated in nations, as the bees have originated in swarms, and as the different social plants have at first covered the extensive tracts over which they naturally spread. The manner in which the different races of men are united, where they border upon each other, shows this plainly; and we have many analogous facts in the varieties we observe among well-known animals. We would mention as an example the wolf, which is found all over Europe. This animal has a very soft thick fur in the North, and a whitish color; it is grayish in Central Europe, while farther south, in Italy, Spain, and Greece, it has a fawn-color. Now these different varieties are constant in the different districts in which we find that species.

There are large numbers of animals and plants, especially among the higher classes, which are known to present differences similar to those alluded to above, in the case of the wolf, and with respect to which it has been a question among naturalists, whether they constitute distinct species, or should be considered simply as varieties of one and the same type. We may mention the fox of Northern and Southern Europe as another example, or the different varieties of deer, or, among plants, the dwarf stems of various species of trees, occurring simultaneously in lower and higher latitudes, or rising at different levels above the surface of the sea. Naturalists, who have been satisfied of the intimate connection which, from station to station, may be traced between the extremes of such forms, have been unwilling to consider them as species, and have generally described them as varieties; and whenever they have been very particular in distinguishing all the forms occurring under different circumstances, they have described them as *climatic* varieties; assuming, perhaps, that these differences were owing to the influence of climate. But there are others who consider these so-called climatic varieties as simply differing according to the climate under which they live, without assuming that the climate is the cause of the

differences observed. But those not familiar with these nice distinctions, admitting, probably, that the name indicates the thing, have gone much beyond the evidence in this case, and have taken it decidedly for granted, that such differences were produced by climatic influences, and going farther upon this assumption, have also asserted that, within the widest range, climate is producing changes upon organized beings; an assertion which, at present, can be verified only to a very limited degree among domesticated animals. However, it cannot truly be said that the climate is the chief cause of the modifications which have been produced in our races of domestic animals after their transportation into countries differing in climate from those in which they originated. For here, again, if these varieties are to be ascribed to climate, we would ask why, under similar climates, we find different varieties of the same species, — why the cattle in some Swiss cantons differ so much from those of other cantons, — why the sheep of England differ so much from those of corresponding parts of the continent of Europe, — why the Durham breed continues in the United States with all its peculiarities. The intelligent influence of man himself, the object he seeks in the education of domesticated animals, the constant care bestowed by him upon them, have far more to do with the production and preservation of all these varieties than any influence of physical causes, acting independently of his intelligent agency. There is, therefore, up to the present day, no conclusive evidence whatsoever, to show that the so-called climatic varieties have been produced by physical influences.

But the moment it is granted that animals may have been created in those constant numeric proportions which characterize each species in the economy of nature, all over the natural area they cover, there is no farther difficulty in understanding how the wolf of Northern Europe may have primitively differed from the wolf of the central or southern parts of that continent; how fishes placed in Northern Europe, in the British Islands, in the Alps, the Apennines, and the Pyrenees, in waters of a similar character and temperature, can have been introduced primitively in entirely unconnected localities, and present the same identical features, the same specific character, and truly belong to the same species, though they

did not originate from the same stock; while other animals, extending over large areas, the climate of which differs in various ways, may present so-called climatic varieties, (without having been changed from a primitive stock, more or less different from what they are now,) having originated under these different circumstances, with all their peculiarities.

But if all these things are really so, we must not wonder that men inquiring into this subject should entertain such different views respecting them, and that their views should disagree in proportion as their investigations have been more or less limited. Those who have only known the differences called climatic differences, existing between some Mammalia and birds, which occur simultaneously in different latitudes, may well have assumed that such differences have been produced by changes introduced in the course of time; but whenever cases like that of the trout are taken into consideration at the same time, (and we might have extended our examples to many other animals, such as the marmot, the lynx, the chamois, which live in independent unconnected mountain groups,) the case assumes a very different aspect, and it becomes at once plain that one and the same animal must be considered as having originated, even without the slightest specific distinction, simultaneously at great distances, in different parts of the same continent, or even in different continents, as in the case of the arctic animals, or that they may belong to the same species, even if they differ so widely as many so-called climatic varieties. To assume that the geographical distribution of such animals, inhabiting zoological districts entirely disconnected with each other, is to be ascribed to physical causes, that these animals have been transported, and, especially, that the fishes which live in different fresh-water basins have been transported from place to place, — to suppose that perches, pickerels, trouts, and so many other species found in almost every brook and every river in the temperate zone, have been transported from one basin into another, by freshets, or by water-birds, — is to assume very inadequate and accidental causes for general phenomena. And whoever has studied minutely the special distribution of those fishes in different waters will know that there are natural combinations between these species indicating a plan, a de-

sign, a natural affinity between the fishes living together, which could neither be the result of accident, nor be produced by the occasional transportation of eggs from one point to another by water-birds.

Moreover, these fishes are found in places so far remote from each other, that, even granting that in some instances fishes may have been transported from one neighbouring pond to another within short distances, this will never account for the simultaneous occurrence of these identical species, which are found living at great distances from each other, and without intermediate stations. And as for the migration of slow-moving reptiles, such as salamanders and toads, or snakes and vipers, it is out of the question. It is really ludicrous to see with what gravity a few instances of migration of fishes by means of freshets, or of fish-eggs asserted to have been transported by birds, are related as answering these difficulties, as if there were no order, no adaptation, no evidence of a plan, in the distribution of these animals, as they occur in the waters they inhabit, and as if mere chance could have produced the wonderful order which nature exhibits.

For further evidence respecting the normal combination of faunæ in fresh-water basins, we would refer to some remarks made by the writer upon the fishes of Lake Superior.

Did the wolf originate in Sweden, with its silky fur, or in Germany, with its gray color, or in the southern part of Europe, with its smooth hair? Here we might leave it entirely doubtful as a question of no importance; but when we find that animals circumscribed in their habitation, that animals living, for instance, in different fresh-water basins, agree in every particular, though their abodes are entirely unconnected, and seem never to have afforded the means of communication, — when we observe the brook-trouts which are found in the Pyrenees, in the Alps, in the Apennines, in Norway, Sweden, and the British Islands, do not present the slightest differences, — then we are led to the supposition that these animals arose simultaneously in different regions; that the same species may have been created in many unconnected localities at the same time; and that a species, like the wolf, may have originated all over the district it covers. And if this is once established, why should we

not also consider the different human races as having originated all over the districts which they occupy, when they have always shown the same transition from one race to the other within those parts of the world where we know there have not been such extensive migrations as among the white race?

But even in the more civilized parts of the world we have evidence of primitive races, extending everywhere, in the fact that, wherever men have migrated, the migrating people meet aboriginal nations, and are brought everywhere into collision with men already existing in those parts of the world to which they emigrate. We have nowhere a positive record of a people having migrated far, and found countries entirely destitute of inhabitants. This fact would, therefore, be additional evidence of the primitive ubiquity of mankind upon earth.

It is a strange mistake, into which men fall very easily whenever they embark in the investigation of complicated questions, to assume, as soon as they have discovered a law, that that law is the only one to which the phenomena under examination are subject, and to give up any further inquiry, in full confidence that there is nothing more to be found as soon as a satisfactory view of the subject has been obtained. We have seen what important, what prominent reasons there are for us to acknowledge the unity of mankind. But this unity does not exclude diversity. Diversity is the complement of all unity: for unity does not mean oneness, or singleness, but a plurality in which there are many points of resemblance, of agreement, of identity. This diversity in unity is the fundamental law of nature. It can be traced through all the departments of nature, — in the largest divisions which we acknowledge among natural phenomena, as well as in those which are circumscribed within the most narrow limits. It is even the law of development of the individuals belonging to the same species. And this diversity in unity becomes gradually more and more prominent throughout organized beings, as we rise from their lowest to their highest forms.

At first, when looking at a cornfield, all the individual stalks seem identical; but let us look more attentively, and we shall see that one has a more or less vigorous growth than another; that the spikes are fewer or more numerous; that in each spike the grains are more or less

crowded, larger or smaller. The trees in an oak or pine forest seem at first all alike, the elms in an avenue identical; but who can say that he ever saw two trees perfectly alike,—that there ever were in an orchard two apple-trees or two peach-trees bearing the same number of fruit? or who ever found in a flock of sheep such an identity of specimens as to make it impossible to recognize them individually? Is it not a fact, that the shepherd knows every one by itself, and singles out any one in the whole flock without difficulty,—though this may be difficult at first for the unpractised observer? And has it ever occurred to any man to expect to meet his identical image in every respect among his fellow-men? Is it not plain, on the contrary, that the diversities we notice in the greater divisions of both the vegetable and animal kingdoms are carried out in successively narrower and narrower limits, down to the peculiarities of each species, and even of each individual in each species? This law of diversity, therefore, must be investigated as fully, as minutely, and as conscientiously, as the law of unity which pervades the whole. It is not enough to know that all animals agree in certain characters, wherein they differ from plants; that all radiated animals have peculiarities which distinguish them from Mollusca, Articulata, and Vertebrata; that each class in these great divisions has, again, common characters not observed in the others, by which all these groups constitute natural unities. It is not enough to recognize the unity in the different families and genera of the animal and vegetable kingdom; it is not enough to ascertain the close relation existing between the individuals of each species. The naturalist, who aims at a correct and complete understanding of his subject, will investigate with equal devotion the law of diversity which keeps them apart, which constitutes their differences, however minute they may be; and in doing so he will understand better both the law of unity and that of diversity in their mutual relations.

The question is, whether the diversity is primitive or secondary; whether it was introduced at the beginning, when organized beings were first created, or whether it has been produced by subsequent influences, from various causes acting upon them after their creation.

The question with reference to the races of men is this:—Have the differences which we notice among the different races, as they exist now, been produced in the course of the multiplication and diffusion of men upon the earth, or are these differences primitive, independent of physical causes? Have they been introduced into the human race by the Creator himself, or has nature influenced men so much as to produce this diversity, under the influence of those causes which act in the physical world?

Those who contend for the unity of the human race, on the ground of a common descent from a single pair, labor under a strange delusion, when they believe that their argument is favorable to the idea of a moral government of the world, and of the direct intervention of Providence in the development of mankind. Unconsciously, they advocate a greater and more extensive influence in the production of those peculiarities by physical agencies, than by the Deity himself. If their view were true, God had less to do directly with the production of the diversity which exists in nature, in the vegetable as well as the animal kingdom, and in the human race, than climatic conditions, and the diversity of food upon which these beings subsist.

Moreover, we maintain that in the Mosaic record there is not a single passage asserting that these differences — we mean the physical differences existing among men — have been derived from changes introduced in a primitively more uniform stock of man. We challenge those who maintain that mankind originated from a single pair, to quote a single passage in the whole Scriptures pointing at those physical differences which we notice between the white race and the Chinese, the New Hollanders, the Malays, the American Indians, and the negroes, as having been introduced in the course of time among the children of Adam and Eve. All the statements of the Bible have reference either to the general unity which we acknowledge among men, as well as their diversity, or to the genealogy of one particular race, the history of which is more fully recorded in Genesis. But there is nowhere any mention of those physical differences characteristic of the colored races of men, such as the Mongolians and negroes, which may be quoted as evidence that the sacred writers considered them

as descended from a common stock. Have we not, on the contrary, the distinct assertion that the Ethiopian cannot change his skin, nor the leopard his spots? And, however unwelcome it may be in certain quarters to be told so, it is nevertheless true, that this assertion of the common descent of all races of men from a common stock is a mere human construction, entitled to no more credit, and no more confidence, and no more respect, than any other conclusion arising from philosophical investigations of this subject from a scientific point of view. And we wish it here to be clearly understood, that we refer to the diversity among races, and not to the unity to which so frequent allusion is made in the Bible. But it is with this question as it is with many others; what is important for men as men, — what is essential in a moral point of view, in their intercourse with each other, — that is taught by the Bible, and nothing more.\* This most important information is the fact that all men are men, equally endowed with the same superior nature and made of one blood, inasmuch as this figurative expression applies to the higher unity of mankind, and not to their supposed genital connection by natural descent.

But without arguing this point upon historical or Scriptural grounds, let us further state, that it is of paramount importance in this investigation to make a distinction between the historical nations which have left monuments of their existence in former ages, and of which we have traditions or written records that may assist us in these researches, and those races of men respecting which we have no such reliable information, and upon whose origin we can have absolutely no information except by investigating their physical peculiarities, their present condition in contrast with that of other races, and their geographical distribution at present upon the surface of our globe. This distinction is of great importance, inasmuch as it will lessen the perplexity of those who cannot conceive that the Bible is not a text-book of natural history, and who would like to find there information upon all those subjects which have been left for man to investigate. For, as soon as they can satisfy

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\* In this connection we would mention that we have a similar instance in the narrative given by Moses of the creation of the physical world. His object is chiefly to remind men that God created every thing, and not to publish a text-book of geology, or natural history, or anthropology.

themselves that such information upon the origin of man as we aim to obtain cannot be found in the genealogy of Genesis, they will be less unwilling to grant natural philosophers the privilege of inquiring into this question; and they will await the results of these investigations with as much confidence in the Bible, as those have continued to have who apprehended some danger to religion from the brilliant discoveries in geology that were made in the beginning of this century, and those who conceived the same apprehension respecting astronomy in the time of Galileo.

The circumstance, that, wherever we find a human race naturally circumscribed, it is connected in its limitation with what we call, in natural history, a zoölogical and botanical province, — that is to say, with the natural limitation of a particular association of animals and plants, — shows most unequivocally the intimate relation existing between mankind and the animal kingdom in their adaptation to the physical world. The arctic race of men, covering the treeless region near the Arctics in Europe, Asia, and America, is circumscribed in the three continents within limits very similar to those occupied by that particular combination of animals which are peculiar to the same tracts of land and sea.

The region inhabited by the Mongolian race is also a natural zoölogical province, covered by a combination of animals naturally circumscribed within the same regions. The Malay race covers also a natural zoölogical province. New Holland, again, constitutes a very peculiar zoölogical province, in which we have another particular race of men. And it is further remarkable, in this connection, that the plants and animals now living on the continent of Africa, south of the Atlas, within the same range within which the negroes are naturally circumscribed, have a character differing widely from that of the plants and animals of the northern shores of Africa and the valley of Egypt; while the Cape of Good Hope, within the limits inhabited by Hottentots, is characterized by a vegetation and a fauna equally peculiar, and differing in its features from that over which the African race is spread.

Such identical circumscriptions between the limits of two series of organized beings so widely differing as man

and animals and plants, and so entirely unconnected in point of descent, would, to the mind of a naturalist, amount to a demonstration that they originated together within the districts which they now inhabit. We say that such an accumulation of evidence would amount to demonstration; for how could it, on the contrary, be supposed that man alone would assume new peculiarities, and features so different from his primitive characteristics, whilst the animals and plants circumscribed within the same limits would continue to preserve their natural relations to the fauna and flora of other parts of the world?

If the Creator of one set of these living beings had not been also the Creator of the other, and if we did not trace the same general laws throughout nature, there might be room left for the supposition, that, while men inhabiting different parts of the world originated from a common centre, the plants and animals now associated with them in the same countries originated on the spot. But such inconsistencies do not occur in the laws of nature.

The coincidence of the geographical distribution of the human races with that of animals, the disconnection of the climatic conditions where we have similar races, and the connection of climatic conditions where we have different human races, show, further, that the adaptation of different races of men to different parts of the world must be intentional, as well as that of other beings; that men were primitively located in the various parts of the world they inhabit, and that they arose everywhere in those harmonious numeric proportions with other living beings, which would at once secure their preservation and contribute to their welfare. To suppose that all men originated from Adam and Eve is to assume that the order of creation has been changed in the course of historical times, and to give to the Mosaic record a meaning that it never was intended to have. On that ground, we would particularly insist upon the propriety of considering Genesis as chiefly relating to the history of the white race, with special reference to the history of the Jews.

We hope these remarks will not be considered as attacks upon the Mosaic record. We have felt keenly the injustice and unkindness of the charges that have so represented some of our former remarks. We would also

disclaim any connection of these inquiries with the moral principles to be derived from the Holy Scriptures, or with the political condition of the negroes. So far as those two points are concerned, we would insist upon the impropriety of mixing prematurely the results of philosophical inquiry with moral questions. Here we investigate a question of natural history; we look at human nature chiefly in a physical point of view, as naturalists; we study man in his relations to the animal and vegetable world.

It may be that the evidence presented here respecting the diversity of origin of the human races will not satisfy all; it may be that the strength of arguments chiefly derived from considerations connected with the study of zoölogy and botany will not impress all with the same force. We are well aware that many points in the argument, even within the sphere of our own studies, have been left unmentioned. Perhaps fuller comparisons of the social condition of the different races, of their natural dispositions, their habits, their languages, and their implements, might have more weight in the opinion of many than those derived from the comparisons introduced above; and possibly such inquiries ought to have been introduced here to complete the picture of the differences observed between the different races. But our object has been, not to write a treatise on ethnology, but simply to show, that, as a question of natural history, the investigation of the human races leads to the idea of a diversity of their origin, rather than to the supposition that they have originated from a common stock.

But whatever be the fate of the views we have illustrated, we hope one point is established, and will remain settled in the minds of all who are capable of tracing a philosophical inquiry,—that the question of the unity of mankind does not in itself involve the question of a community of origin of the different races; that these two questions must be considered separately, and that distinct answers are required to both, even if they should be both decided in the affirmative.

We have purposely avoided any allusion to ethnological and philological arguments, not only because we are less familiar with those subjects, but chiefly because we doubt the possibility of deriving from such sources evidence capable of deciding the question either one way

or the other. The identity in form and materials of the roughest implements among all savage nations, the similarity of the flint arrow-heads used by wild tribes over almost all the world, far from indicating a common origin, would in our opinion only indicate how natural it is for the human hand seeking for weapons to break hard stones, and to give them the form most likely to make them effective for their deadly purpose. To assume that these rude implements, from their great resemblance in form and material all over the world, indicate a common origin of all these tribes, would be to assume that, in the rude state of existence during which they continued to employ such weapons, they had already arrived at such a state of civilization as would enable them to migrate from one part of the world to another, which we know even in the present day not to be the case among those nations in which the very same implements are in use.

As for the languages, their common structure, and even the analogy in the sounds of different languages, far from indicating a derivation of one from the other, seem to us rather the necessary result of that similarity in the organs of speech, which causes them to produce naturally the same sound. Who would now deny that it is as natural for men to speak, as it is for a dog to bark, for an ass to bray, for a lion to roar, for a wolf to howl, when we see that no nations are so barbarous, so deprived of all human character, as to be unable to express in language their desires, their fears, their hopes? And if a unity of language, any analogy in sound and structure between the languages of the white race, indicate a closer connection between the different nations of that race, would not the difference which has been observed in the structure of the languages of the wild races, would not the power the American Indians have naturally to utter gutturals which the white can hardly imitate, afford additional evidence that these races did not originate from a common stock, but are only closely allied as men, endowed equally with the same intellectual powers, the same organs of speech, the same sympathies, only developed in slightly different ways in the different races, precisely as we observe the fact between closely allied species of the same genus among birds?

There is no ornithologist, who has ever watched the natural habits of birds and their notes, who has not been

surprised at the similarity of intonation of the notes of closely allied species, and the greater difference between the notes of birds belonging to different genera and families. The cry of the birds of prey is alike unpleasant and rough in all; the song of all thrushes is equally sweet and harmonious, and modulated upon similar rhythms, and combined in similar melodies; the chit of all titmice is loquacious and hard; the quack of the duck is alike nasal among all. But who ever thought that the robin learned his melody from the mocking-bird, or the mocking-bird from any other species of thrush? Who ever fancied that the field-crow learned his cawing from the raven or the jackdaw? Certainly no one at all acquainted with the natural history of birds. And why should it be different with men? Why should not the different races of men have originally spoken distinct languages, as they do at present, differing in the same proportions as their organs of speech are variously modified? And why should not these modifications in their turn be indicative of primitive differences among them? It were giving up all induction, all power of arguing from sound premises, if the force of such evidence were to be denied. The only objection which can be raised against all this would rest upon the ground, that it is by no means established that the human races constitute distinct species. For our own part, we are not at all inclined to urge this point; we do not see the importance of settling the question of the unity of mankind upon the ground of unity or diversity of species. The relations existing between the different human races are at all events different from the natural relations existing between the individuals of truly distinct species in the animal kingdom, and also different from the relations between the individuals belonging truly to the same species among animals. There is among them the possibility of a much closer intercourse; there is in every respect a greater diversity of feature, a greater freedom of development, a greater inequality among individuals. Whether the natural groups which can be recognized in the human family are called races, varieties, or species, is of no great importance, as soon as it is understood that they present the extreme development of a peculiar diversity, already introduced to some extent among some of the higher animals. All that is impor-

tant in this question is to know whether these differences are primitive, or whether they have been introduced subsequently to the creation of one common primitive stock. But as soon as it can be shown in the animal kingdom that so-called climatic varieties must be considered as primitive, it follows naturally that the human races also must be considered as primitive in their origin, with their peculiar differences, and then the question of plurality or unity of species is one of no greater import than the question whether so-called climatic varieties constitute species or not. The chief point is to distinguish between the unity of mankind and the origin of the different races, and upon this question we trust we have given evidence that will at all events place the question upon a ground different from that upon which it has been argued heretofore. With respect to the religious, moral, or political relations of men, we do not intend now to speak, but we leave those questions for others to consider.

One consideration more, and we will close these remarks. Whether the different races have been from the beginning what they are now, or have been successively modified to their present condition (a view which we consider as utterly unsupported by facts), so much is plain, — that there are upon earth different races of men, inhabiting different parts of its surface, which have different physical characters; and this fact, as it stands, without reference to the time of its establishment and the cause of its appearance, requires farther investigation, and presses upon us the obligation to settle the relative rank among these races, the relative value of the characters peculiar to each, in a scientific point of view. It is a question of almost insuperable difficulty, but it is as unavoidable as it is difficult; and as philosophers it is our duty to look it in the face. It will not do to assume their equality and identity; it will not do to grant it, even if it were not questioned, so long as actual differences are observed. Giving up such an investigation would be as injurious as to give up an inquiry into the character of individual men whose appearance upon earth, at different times, has benefited mankind by their different abilities; it would be as improper as to deny the characteristic differences between the different nations of our own race upon

the mere assertion that, because they belong to the same race, they must be equal. Such views would satisfy nobody, because they go directly against our every day's experience. And it seems to us to be mock-philanthropy and mock-philosophy to assume that all races have the same abilities, enjoy the same powers, and show the same natural dispositions, and that in consequence of this equality they are entitled to the same position in human society. History speaks here for itself. Ages have gone by, and the social developments which have arisen among the different races have at all times been different; and not only different from those of other races, but particularly characteristic in themselves, evincing peculiar dispositions, peculiar tendencies, peculiar adaptations in the different races. The Chinese and Japanese, being politically two distinct nations, but belonging to the same race, present perhaps the most striking evidence of the conformity between the civilizations in one and the same race; and the general contrast between those of distinct races is most apparent when we compare the state of Japan and China with that of the parts of Asia inhabited by Malays, or with the civilizations among the nations of the white race. New Holland, again, though, when first visited by Europeans, it was found to be already inhabited by populations differing in character from those of any other part of the world previously known, notwithstanding its proximity to Asia, with which it is almost connected by a series of islands not too far apart to have allowed early intercourse between those nations had it been in their nature to rise to a higher civilization, — New Holland, we say, presents, on the contrary, an example of a race entirely shut out from the rest of mankind, in which there has never been any indication of an advanced civilization. The same may be said of the Africans. And in their case we have a most forcible illustration of the fact that the races are essentially distinct, and can hardly be influenced even by a prolonged contact with others when the differences are particularly marked. This compact continent of Africa exhibits a population which has been in constant intercourse with the white race, which has enjoyed the benefit of the example of the Egyptian civilization, of the Phœnician civilization, of the Roman civilization, of the

Arab civilization, and of all those nations that have successively flourished in Egypt and in the northern parts of Africa, and nevertheless there has never been a regulated society of black men developed on that continent, so particularly congenial to that race. Do we not find, on the contrary, that the African tribes are to-day what they were in the time of the Pharaohs, what they were at a later period, what they are probably to continue to be for a much longer time? And does not this indicate in this race a peculiar apathy, a peculiar indifference to the advantages afforded by civilized society? We speak, of course, of this race in its primitive condition at home, and not of the position of those who have been transported into other parts of the world to live there under new circumstances. Again, on the continent of America, have we not in the Indians evidence of another mode of existence, indications of other dispositions, of other feelings, of other appreciations of the advantages of life. The character of the Indian race has been so well sketched out by Dr. Morton, in his able works upon that subject, that we need not repeat what he has said. We would only ask, Does not that Indian race present the most striking contrast with the character of the negro race, or with the character of the Mongolian, especially the Chinese and Japanese? The indomitable, courageous, proud Indian, — in how very different a light he stands by the side of the submissive, obsequious, imitative negro, or by the side of the tricky, cunning, and cowardly Mongolian! Are not these facts indications that the different races do not rank upon one level in nature, — that the different tendencies which characterize man in his highest development are permanently brought out in various combinations, isolated in each of these races, in a manner similar to all the developments in physical nature, and, we may also say, similar to all the developments in the intellectual and moral world, where in the early stages of development we see some one side predominant, which in the highest degree of perfection is combined with all others, in wonderful harmony, even though the lower stages belong to the same sphere as the highest? So can we conceive, and so it seems to us to be indeed the fact, that those higher attributes which characterize man in his highest development are exhibited in the several races in very different proportions, giving, in

the case of the inferior races, prominence to features which are more harmoniously combined in the white race, thus preserving the unity among them all, though the difference is made more prominent by the manner in which the different faculties are developed.

What would be the best education to be imparted to the different races in consequence of their primitive difference, if this difference is once granted, no reasonable man can expect to be prepared to say, so long as the principle itself is so generally opposed; but, for our own part, we entertain not the slightest doubt that human affairs with reference to the colored races would be far more judiciously conducted, if, in our intercourse with them, we were guided by a full consciousness of the real difference existing between us and them, and a desire to foster those dispositions that are eminently marked in them, rather than by treating them on terms of equality. We conceive it to be our duty to study these peculiarities, and to do all that is in our power to develop them to the greatest advantage of all parties. And the more we become acquainted with these dispositions, the better, doubtless, will be our course with reference to our own improvement, and with reference to the advance of the colored races. For our own part, we have always considered it as a most injudicious proceeding to attempt to force the peculiarities of our white civilization of the nineteenth century upon all nations of the world.

There are several other points bearing directly upon the question of the unity of mankind, and the diversity of origin of the human races, which we ought perhaps to have discussed here, such as the zoölogical characteristics of the individual races, and their special limitation, their transitions, and their mixture, and the question of hybrids in general; but these are subjects extensive enough in themselves to require to be discussed separately. We have no intention for the present to enter upon the discussion of facts not strictly connected with the philosophy of the question, and we leave this subject with the hope of having removed many doubts and much hesitation.